DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 291 877 CE 049 481

AUTHOR	Gerhardt, H. Peter
TITLE	Brazil's Popular Education in the Eighties. Essentials, Fundamentals and Realpolitik. Revised Edition. Dokumentation + Report, 3/86.
INSTITUTION	Verlag fur Interkulturelle Kommunikation, Frankfurt (West Germany).
REPORT NO	ISBN-3-88939-008-0
PUB DATE	86
NOTE	56p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Verlag fur Interkulturelle Kommunikation, Postfach 900965, D-6000 Frankfurt 90, West Germany (20 Deutschmarks).
PUB TYPE	Information Analyses (070) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Basic Education; *Adult Education; Citizenship Education; *Community Education; *Foreign Countries; Political Issues; *Popular Culture
IDENTIFIERS	*Brazil; *Popular Education

ABSTRACT

This report concentrates on the specific educational phenomenon of popular education in Brazil. It highlights the social context and the frequent political controversies that surround it. The first section depicts the popular education movement with respect to its self-image. Part II describes the societal groups involved. Part III discusses in an historical and goal-related sequence the different forms through which popular education advanced. Some important data about Brazil's educational system in general are offered in part IV. The fifth section is comprised of three subchapters that attempt a differentiation between fundamentalist and realist viewpoints. The key controversies of the movement are discussed: collaboration with the state, the type of teacher required, and nondirectiveness versus manipulation. The last section sums up the findings and asks if Brazil's popular education endeavor comprises the elements of a new pedagogy. A glossary, supplementary tables, and a bibliography are attached. (YLB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED291877

Dokumentation + Report

Reihe zur interkulturellen und politischen Kommunikation »Dritte Welt - Industriestaaten« 3/86

H. Peter Gerhardt

BRAZIL'S POPULAR EDUCATION IN THE EIGHTIES
Essentials, Fundamentals and Realpolitik

2. revised edition

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
H P Gerhardt
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

CE049481

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Verlag für interkulturelle Kommunikation
Frankfurt am Main

H. Peter Gerhardt, BRAZIL'S POPULAR EDUCATION IN THE EIGHTIES

CIP - Kurztitelaufnahme der Deutschen Bibliothek

Gerhardt, Heinz-Peter:

Brazil's popular education in the eighties:
essentials, fundamentals and realpolitik/
H.Peter Gerhardt.-Frankfurt am Main:
Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation,
1986. (Dokumentation + Report, 86,3)
ISBN 3-88939-008-0

c Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation
Postfach 900965
D - 6000 Frankfurt 90

Herausgeber: Walter Sülberg

2. verbeeserte Auflage 1986

Brazil's Popular Education in the Eighties

Essentials, Fundamentals and Realpolitik

H. Peter Gerhardt

Johann Wolfgang Goethe University-Frankfurt/M/West Germany and

Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte-Natal/RN/Brazil

November, 1985

Table of Contents

Page

Introduction..... 1

I. Self-Images..... 4

II. Who met Whom, When ?..... 6

1. 1958-1964..... 6
2. 1978 - ?..... 7

III. Forms and Ends..... 9

1. Primitive Forms : The Consumer Type of Popular Participation..... 9
2. Forms Enhancing Active Popular Participation in the Democratic Process..... 10
3. Forms Promoting and Experimenting Elements of Socialist Society Models..... 11

IV. Some Data..... 13

V. Essentials, Fundamentals and Realpolitik 14

1. Grassroots or Collaboration with the State.... 15
2. Nondirectiveness - Manipulation..... 18
3. The Organic Teacher..... 21

VI. A New Pedagogy ? 26

VII. Notes..... 32

VIII. Glossary and Abbreviations..... 37

IX. Tables..... 39

X. Bibliography..... 43

ABSTRACT

Brazil's Popular Education in the Eighties

Essentials, Fundamentals and Realpolitik

by

Heinz Peter Gerhardt

(J.W. Goethe University - Frankfurt/M - West Germany and

Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte - Natal/RN-Brazil)

This article focuses on the discussion among Brazil's Popular Educators in the mid-eighties. Starting with their self-image, the movement is traced back trying to identify the reasons it has been developing so impressively during its two summers : 1958-1964 and 1978 - ?. The educational enterprise in favor of the popular classes brought these classes into contact with middle class and National Bourgeoisie segments, the effect of which turned out to be a mutual learning process. Different approaches to and results of this process are made evident along with the fundamentalist and realist viewpoint on some key issues:

- grass-roots or collaboration with the state
- directiveness and manipulation
- the organic teacher

In an evaluative final chapter the elements of a new pedagogy which are developed within the scope of the Popular Education movement (cross-class collaboration, nondirectiveness as a goal, the high value given to the "school of life", education as an art and education as transformation) are put forward.

Critical notes are given to the overemphasis on consciousness-raising and participation patterns to the detriment of labor force training and institution building. Criticism is also given to the little consideration "bourgeois" culture receives in the programs, to the overly enthusiastic claims concerning the mental possibilities of the people, and to the general lack of formative and conclusive evaluation schemes.

The article is meant to portray the state of Popular Education in Brazil. Supplementary tables, a glossary, and the abundant bibliography underline this purpose of the paper.

Brazil's Popular Education in the Eighties

Essentials, Fundamentals and Realpolitik

Introduction

Popular education in Brazil is in the headlines once again. The insurgent Northeast once worried an American president.[1] Today the Pope is concerned.[2]

This is strange for an educational movement, even more so when it happens to occur predominantly in remote regions of a developing country. The uneasiness of the two world-leaders coincides with the two summers of the Popular Education Movement. During these seasons of social ferment, new features in the educational field arose with numerous side effects.

This paper will concentrate on the specific educational phenomena of Popular Education highlighting their social context and the frequent political controversies that

surround them. The conditioning and impeding factors of the educational movement are analyzed. I do not describe in detail already widespread notions -- considered in this context common knowledge -- of the literature about adult education from Latin America (i.e. Paulo Freire, Ivan Illich) like conscientization, banking approach to adult education, coding-decoding, deschooling, etc.

Three general pieces of information are in order before I start :

- As indicated above there is to be found an important linkage between educational and political affairs in the Movement's theory and practice. This will be shown to hold true for the issues at stake, to mention but a few, teaching style, curriculum elaboration and the very organization of the educational process itself.
- Somewhat disturbing for European and North American scholars might be a certain form of eclecticism in the usage of theoretical and technical terms. The mixture of Christian Radical with existentialist-nationalist thought during the first summer (1958-1964) and the theorizing from a Dependency or Marxian/Gramscian standpoint in the second (1978- ?) are at times confusing and hard to disentangle. And beyond that : In the highly stratified societies of Latin America there is often no need to define terms like dominant elites, popular classes, subordinates, wretched. They are understood by themselves. The academic tradition in Brazil does not require such scientific rigor either.

- Popular Education in Brazil until recently was a highly persecuted endeavor. Many Popular Educators had to choose exile. Their work was constantly interrupted by federal or local police forces. This explains in part why in the case of Brazil there is a lack of quantitative and qualitative measurement of the educational outcomes.[4]

The paper thus has both a descriptive and an analytical character. It is based partly on my own experience with Popular Education in Northeast Brazil, partly on the recent literature published about the topic. The analytical tools applied and their provenance are put forward step by step together with the presentation of the material.[5]

I chose the following framework to organize the collected evidence:

- The first section of the paper depicts the movement with respect to its self-image.
- The second contributes a Who's Who of the societal groups involved.
- The third presents the different forms that popular participation in society can assume and the educational means to get there.
- The fourth offers some important data about Brazil's educational system in general.
- The fifth makes up the main body of the paper. In three subchapters a differentiation between fundamentalist and realist viewpoints is tried out,

discussing the key controversies of the movement: collaboration with the state, the type of teacher required and non-directiveness versus manipulation.

- The last section sums up the findings and asks if Brazil's Popular Education endeavour comprises the elements of a new pedagogy.

I. Self-images

The Popular Educators of Brazil see themselves as allies of the popular classes (urban and rural poor, working class) and their accessories as far as educational policies, theories, and practices are concerned. This means that segments of the middle sector together with the "people" (p o v o) are working for an educational system which will facilitate social change, that is, a more egalitarian society : fewer privileges for the dominant majority and less misery for the dominated majority.[6]

They are placing the idea of social justice and democratization on the political agenda. They understand People's Education as the interaction between the people and their social movements on the one hand, and educators dedicated to social transformation and their organizations, on the other.

They contest that the prevailing contents and methods of education are authoritarian and not in concert with the needs and interests of the majority of the Brazilian people. In trying to find realistic ends commensurate with the

available means, they rely heavily on popular wisdom and knowledge in their educational enterprise with children, adolescents and adults. Ideally Popular Educators want to arrive at a form of synthesis between people's experience and their own contributions.

Summing up Popular Education's main characteristics, I would say, along with Wanderley (1984, p.105), that Popular Education is :

- historical, i.e. it depends on the development of the society and its economic order.
- political, i.e. it deals with all the other areas of popular life (housing, health, labour).
- democratic, i.e. it tries to avoid authoritarian and elitist approaches to knowledge, education and training.
- transformative, i.e. it aims at the transformation of the existing Brazilian socio-economic order.

The agreement on these general notions does not mean that the various groups, agencies, and individuals engaged in educational work within the subordinate masses concur on the interpretation of these characteristics. Though in step on general issues, the march to different political drummers cannot be overlooked.[7] The Education of the Subordinate must be understood as a project that comprises a broad range of political and educational interests. A "Who's Who" in Popular Education during its two summers will clarify the educational discourse, its routine and organizational form taken in past and present developments.

II. Who met whom, when ?

During the two summers of Popular Education socio-economic and political factors were decisive for its raises and falls.[8]

1. 1958-1964

The presidency of J. Kubitschek was conditioned by a massive influx of foreign capital. He tried to put into practice his electoral motto, "50 Years of Development in 5" by the acceleration of industrialization. This policy led to an increased degree of denationalization (foreign overtaking of domestic enterprises) and caused opposition from the National Bourgeoisie and great portions of the middle sectors or classes (liberal professionals, lower managers and bureaucrats, students). To broaden the basis of their opposition, the two components of this "resistencia" sought to establish an alliance with the popular classes, whose votes were decisive in the polls.

Considering the political environment, I would tentatively speak of a meeting of three social groups in order to build a political front against the interests of foreign investors and their Brazilian counterparts. The three parties had different interests :

- The national bourgeoisie tried to maintain and broaden its economic and political influence.
- The dispersed segments of the middle classes feared foreign political, economic, and also cultural

dominance. They aspired to a more direct, participant democracy in opposition to the formal-representative model in which economic power lobbies traditionally decide the destiny of society.

- The popular classes were courted by all the other social and political groups. But they did not have a political project of their own. At the same time, they made up the audience and played some of the minor roles on the stage of the political drama which led to the coup d'etat of 1964.

2. 1978 = 2

The second summer of Popular Education brought together the same actors but with different weights :

- Brazil's popular classes, which during the military rule (1964 - 1984) had to carry the main burden of the "Brazilian Miracle" and are still suffering from the "Brazilian Debt Crisis", are now better organized and are working on political projects of their own.

- The middle classes (also shattered by considerable income losses) radicalized, made common cause with the popular classes, and turned out to be the most active proponents of redemocratization (1978 - 1984).

- The National Bourgeoisie, in the majority, collaborated willy-nilly with the military government, a collaboration that had already begun before 1964, because of the overly vigorous advancement of the popular movement. They once again are trying to play an important and more

independent role in the economy and politics. As in the fifties, its elements normally do not take part in the educational enterprise. Their support consists mainly of a political and financial stance.

All three social strata contribute in their way to the Popular Education Movement, molding its form and defining its ends.

III. Forms and Ends

- Who is the organizer of the enterprise ?
- What political and societal ends are the programs committed to ?
- To what extent do the popular classes participate ?

These are the key questions to be asked in this chapter. By doing so and following the suggestions of Brandao (1980, p.30 and 1984, pp.186-195), I single out in a historical and goal-related sequence the different forms through which Popular Education advanced. They might have happen concomitantly. One organizer often is present within different forms.

1. Primitive Forms : The Consumer Type of Popular Participation

The nation building as well as the human capital concept of education are summarized under this label because they aim at the training of the labor-force and a civic education to assure mass loyalty.

Special programs are normally devised for individuals or groups of individuals, i.e. the so-called modern elements.

MOBRAL - The Brazilian Literacy Movement, organized by the Federal Government, is envisioned as such a design (literacy training, together with health, nutritional and civic instructions).[9] For the Brazilian case, also important are SENAI and SENAC, vocational training schemes run jointly by employers and government under the auspices of the

[9]

Ministries of Industry and Commerce and Labor (Brandao, 1984, p.180).

More radical followers of Popular Education are upset when they see state-run educational enterprises listed under the heading "Popular Education". But since the topic "universalization of education" recently was included in the Popular Education seminar's agendas even the federal, regional and municipal state are potential contributors (Paiva, 1984, pp.17-18).

2. Forms Enhancing Active Popular Participation in the Democratic Process.

Requirements of this form are that the popular classes are given a voice in the society as one segment of it and that the socio-economic order remains untouched. The educational activities concentrate on consciousness raising and mobilization aimed at enhancing the performance of the organizations of the popular classes already in existence. Neighbourhood associations, meetings of women, trade unions, and even political parties are fostered having in view full participation of the popular classes within a representative democracy but under, as Brandao (1984, p.182) points out, capitalist bourgeois hegemony.

In the period dating from 1961 until the present, M E B, the Basic Education Movement, serves as a good example. It was organized jointly by the Catholic Church and the Federal Government. During its history, MEB distinguished itself by the great respect it showed for the Popular Culture and for

the "School of Life" whereby the popular classes educate themselves.

Authors like Wanderley (1984, pp.101-103) and Brandao (1984, p.180; 1980, p.25) point to the ambiguity of the second form of Popular Education. On the one hand, it serves the interests of the societal elites because private accumulation of socially produced wealth is maintained, however on the other hand, the popular strata gain better political and cultural representation, increased participation, and sometimes benefit economically as well.

The greater number of Popular Educators agree upon the active popular participation in society as the most important goal which Popular Education should pursue. Yet there has always existed still a third form.

3. Forms Promoting and Experimenting Elements of Socialist Society Models.

These educational undertakings are evaluated by the degree they can raise people's awareness; how they stimulate the growth not only of Popular Culture but also of Popular Power structures which transcend the given socio-economic order. Self-consciousness and self determination are headings that indicate ends sufficiently. Past and contemporary examples : the Peasant Leagues and the Independent Urban and Rural Trade-Unions in the late fifties and early sixties. Though both movements have had features of the second form of Popular Education in the beginning, they transformed them into the third later on.[10]

[11]

The same is true for the eighties. Once again we are witnessing the appearance of relatively autonomous new trade-union and party formations realized within and by the popular classes.[11]

The most dramatic development, however, is the increasing involvement of the Brazilian Catholic Church. One could say that the ideas and plans put into practice by laymen and priests during the first summer of Popular Education -- the most important being the M E B , mentioned above -- had a twenty year incubation phase[12] , which is in some sense responsible for the vigorous growth taking place presently within the Basic Ecclesiastic Communities at the grass-roots level, and the Theology of Liberation among theologians and others at the theoretical level.[13]

A complicating factor for today's activists arises because Popular Education's second summer does not correspond to a Roman one as in the sixties (Pope John XXIII and the Vatican Council). Curial Rome experiences one of its bitterest winters.[14]

The short excursion into the newspaper headlines denotes the prominence Brazilian Popular Education has already won worldwide. Brazil may serve for the Popular Educators of other countries as a case study that shows how different social ranks of a nation in development can meet and work together to overcome a highly stratified educational system within a highly stratified society. Some data will help to understand better the situation in the educational field, a

situation which sets the stage for all Popular Education programs.

IV. Some Data

A look at some data about Brazil's educational system is not encouraging.[15]

The national census revealed an increase in the absolute number of illiterates during the decades. Illiteracy grew from 13 million in 1940 to 19 million in 1980 (= population above 15 years of age) in spite of cutting in half the percentages within the same time period (Table 1).

By the way, the definition for being considered literate is somewhat euphemistic : Everyone who is able to sign his name.

So it makes sense to consider as functionally illiterate also that part of the student population that went to school less than two years. In 1970, this was the case with 12 million pupils older than 10 years. The fact remained unaltered in 1980 (Table 2).

The high dropout rate in the primary schools demonstrates that the system is producing more functional illiterates every day (Table 3).

Though funds distributed for education by the federal government are only a partial indicator of general concern with education -- 1970 e.g., they represented only 25.5 percent of the nation's total educational outlays (Haussman/Haar 1978, p.51) -- the fall in the share of the

Ministry of Education and Culture in the Federal Budget must be noted : It declined from 11.2 % in 1962 to 5.9 % in 1983 (Table 4).

The data demonstrate that the military governments that ruled Brazil in the sixties and seventies gave little attention to ameliorating the situation in the educational sector.

V. Essentials, Fundamentals and Realpolitik

In the preceding chapters, the stage on which the Popular Education programs were rehearsed saw their openings and closings was set. The promoters were identified, the playwrights named and their social backgrounds discussed. The members of the cast were introduced and depicted in their various roles and forms of acting. The raw material of the script was put forward as well.

Yet the script itself, the curriculum for educationists, is more difficult to expound. Differentiating between two distinctly different patterns of Popular Education will make the task less problematical.

This will be also the best way to catch up with the rapidly changing features of Popular Education programs. Moreover, it is an attempt to avoid the somewhat mechanical deductive schemes which follow politically and economically devised criteria (cf. chapters II and III). The very interactional and pedagogical aspects of the educational process either remain untouched or are deducted from mainly

sociological theories.

It seems to me that there are two basic approaches to the most important questions being discussed today in Popular Education : the fundamentalist approach and the realist approach.[16]

Fundamentalists may be found not only in the more authoritarian left defending vanguard concepts, but also in populist and even anarchist circles. This is due to the rigidity and inflexibility with which they advance theoretical and practical questions. Within the same field appear the realists who, though they may have strong convictions, beliefs and 'historical truths' too, do not sacrifice the opportunities of the moment for their principles. They are more capable of adapting ends and means to the flux of circumstances and changing issues.

A discussion of three controversies within the Popular Education movement will clarify my assumptions.

1. Grassroots or Collaboration with the State

The exigencies of the military rule (1964-1984) made it nearly impossible to use governmental funding because Populist Education was considered "communist talk" and a "threat to National Security". Some of the activists chose exile; others abandoned the field, a few collaborated with the authoritarian state's campaigns. Today, in the midst of a process of political democratization, official funding is no longer eyed censoriously. Remembered are the times of the

state and church funded "Movimento de Educacao Popular (MEB), the US-AID financed literacy campaigns of Paulo Freire and his Recife-based SEC.[17]

The different groups of the Popular Education movement, it is argued, should nevertheless start with their work at the grassroot level.[18] Axioms like popular participation and popular control[19] are outgrowths of this general assumption. Fundamentalists stretch this argument to a point that would not leave freedom for any prerogative other than total popular control and supervision. They argue that this is the only way the popular classes would be able to maintain and further popular knowledge and power. They are opposed to the universalization of schooling under the present political conditions. They fear it would only contribute to prolong the domination of the bourgeois state and its ideology over life, work, and thought of the subordinates.[20]

Less purist activists would not share these generalizations. They defend the possibility of working in and with official institutions in favor of the urban and rural poor. For this end, mechanisms of supervision and control should be devised, but not handed over in advance to the people, whose conservative tendencies and occasional narrow-mindedness should be openly discussed and not disregarded.[21] Popular Education alone cannot bring the universalization of schooling or other forms of widespread popular opportunities needed to acquire the knowledge and training necessary to transcend family and municipal

boundaries. Popular Education should be looked upon as a field of experimentation and innovation that challenges and, with time, ameliorates the public school system.[22]

From the realists' standpoint, public schooling is once again attributed an important role. This links up with findings that the popular masses themselves historically always strived for their children's access to the public school[23] in spite of the fact, according to the fundamentalists' counter-argument, the greater number of them were sorted out after one or two years as underachievers. This was a humiliation that would last a lifetime.

Recent political developments have helped to diminish the tension between both stances. With the victory of the opposition parties in some larger states of the Federation, doors were opened for the realization of many Popular Education assets within the official system. The State and the City of Rio de Janeiro are frontrunners.

Presently underway is one of the greatest remodelings of an educational system ever experienced in Brazilian history. The transformation includes all levels of the formal and state-run non-formal system. It had begun already with the massive in-service training of teachers. It foresees the construction of C e n t r o s I n t e g r a d o s d e E d u c a c a o P o p u l a r with learning, recreational and medical care facilities for the population of the shanty town areas (three are already finished). Special attention will be given to dropouts who count among their members a staggering number of petty and larger scale

criminals. There is much evidence to show that the Cariocan School Administration under Darcy Ribeiro[24] is putting into practice the second form of Popular Education, and that within the educational system. Lively and interesting debates are going on trying to shift the experiment nearer to the third form.[25]

The project in Rio de Janeiro and similar ones in other states signify a new age for Popular Education. Its body of ideas and practices are officially acknowledged and tried out. It would be interesting to see in the near future what use the activists make of the space they have gained.

2. Nondirectiveness = Manipulation

Traditionally, the relationship between teacher and student is one of the stronger points of Popular Education in Brazil.

The already famous play upon words "teacher-student" and "student-teacher" (Paulo Freire), is more than a pun. It indicates the preoccupation of the Senior Popular Educator with the asymmetrical structure in the learning-teaching process, especially where adults are concerned.[26]

In the fundamentalist view, nondirectiveness is conceived as a goal in itself. The teacher only coordinates, seldomly structures free-floating discussions, withholding his or her own knowledge and opinion. Anxious not to predetermine the curriculum by pre-elaborated didactical

aids, primer and textbook are vehemently rejected as they are seen as leading to massification. Posters and slides are normally used as didactical material, "coding" every-day situations. And with respect to these materials classroom discussion (decoding) takes place.

I would call Paulo Freire of "Education as the Practice of Freedom",[27] a fundamentalist : One of the motives that led to his world-famous literacy training method was his refusal to work with a primer within the Movimento de Cultura Popular (MCP) at Recife in the fifties and sixties.[28]

The central idea behind the fundamentalist approach to the learning-teaching process is that the illiterate adult, already informally trained and educated, only needs a properly designed stimulus in order to re-organize hitherto held interpretations and outlooks. The belief is that this way, they nearly automatically learn to articulate a critical consciousness of their environment.[29] During and after the culture circle (one of Popular Education's classrooms) the free choice of the people regarding the contents and methods of instruction has the only moral and political validity, even if their options should be contrary to those of the teacher.

A milder form of nondirectiveness still sees it as a goal in itself but would allow the teacher to contribute his information at an appropriate time. Paulo Freire of "Pedagogy of the Oppressed"[30] where the monitor has the right to develop "hinged themes", would be a good example for this

position.[31]

I would call that methodological stance realistic which uses non-directive techniques (dialogue, round-table discussions, socio-dramas, panel discussions with a verbalizing and an observing group, small study groups and the assembly where the various findings merge together) as one didactical tool among others. Within the once agreed upon curriculum it should be considered also the didactical manner necessary to achieve its goals.

There is some evidence that the latter position is gaining more ground in the Popular Education movement. This is the case because, as findings show, the fundamentalistic approach can only be maintained in situations and milieus remote from struggling political forces and with certain social homogeneity in the community involved.[32] Even then it was found that the people scarcely arrived at a level where general conclusions about societal structures and power could be drawn.[33]

The issue remains controversial. Passionate discussion takes place. The fundamentalists criticize the activities of their opponents as manipulation of the people's will hardly different from the use the dominant elite make of the educational system as a tool of intervention and mediation. The purists fear that since a great number of students, teachers and liberal professionals also work within the system, they tend to transfer the intervention style of education to Popular Education, perhaps out of habit, maybe

even to justify the old attitude with the new, emancipating contents (vanguardism).[34]

The differences between the nondirectiveness/directiveness viewpoints will be attenuated only when the civilian, political and military societies of Brazil develop a kind of democratic tolerance and ethic of living together, at least in the participative way put forward by Brandao (1984, p.180). It should be possible to establish a mechanism of control that will enable teachers and students to cooperatively decide upon the contents and methods of the educational process accompanied by constant evaluations about the road taken.

3. The Organic Teacher

Cross-class meetings historically are rare and difficult. In Brazil's history of education, Popular Educators argue there has been seen more often the intervention or mediation of one dominant class into or between others less powerful. Depending on the historical moment, these encounters can be either fruitful or hazardous for the identity of the social ranks involved.

The majority of Brazil's teaching personnel, outside and within the formal school system, have come from the middle strata. This has been the case in the past and continues in the present. Some exceptions in the countryside and in the Northeast exist. Thus the greater number of the activists of People's Education cannot deny their bourgeois and petty

bourgeois backgrounds. Using the theoretical frame of A. Gramsci the most prominent could be even considered traditional or organic intellectuals,[35] due to their continuing professional role as organizers and ideologues of bourgeois hegemony over the civilian society and the state apparatus.[36] They are organics or suborganics[37] of their class, the bourgeoisie. In the political milieu of Brazil's fifties and sixties, it tended to be especially the subordinate intellectuals, i.e. school and university teachers, technicians, scientists and engineers, accountants and lower managers, journalists and others in the mass media,[38] a lot of would-be professionals, and students who became uncertain about their role in the society. In discussion and political engagement, they met elements and groups of the popular classes that were equally on the move, questioning positions and practices, searching for answers.

In some sense both social groups wanted to engage in a project for the reshaping of the Brazilian society; . this included striving for Basic Reforms (Agriculture, Banks, Political Institutions, etc.). As the educational needs of the popular classes were already too obvious (cf. Chapter IV) and their possibility to vote in the ballots for the new projects depended at least on rudimentary literacy, the basics for the educational part of the project could be established : literacy training and consciousness-raising in favor of a New Brazil. These ends were not defined in syllabus form. The curriculum often was made up in the very

educational-political context itself.

Both parties of the coalition should learn from each other. On the part of the middle-class representatives, it was necessary to know something of the people's culture and their way of educating themselves informally. On the part of the popular classes, it was demanded of them to go beyond the common sense insights and concepts acquired in the school of life.

If this describes an ideal form of collaboration in search of something new, the practice of the various groups and cultural circles did not always reflect it. More detailed data show that the main flow of information went from the elements of the middle strata to those of the popular ones.[39] The agents learned many lessons in their contact with the new environment. Their respect for the daily struggle of the poor grew and they found ways to make it the main topic of the curriculum.[40]

The Paulo Freire System of Education, for example, was developed under these circumstances. Yet, only as an exception do we see elements of the popular classes openly assume the position of monitors, teachers, or community leaders, thus becoming organic teachers of their own people.[41] There is great deal of evidence, especially for the second summer of Popular Education, that the organic intellectuals of the lower classes are more likely to emerge in trade-union, social movement, and political party environments than by educational endeavors, even "popular" ones.[42]

This message apparently has been understood by the majority of today's Popular Educators who more than ever try to fit into the already existing popular movements, whether they are of cultural, educational, trade-union, social or political nature. Presently there are popular elements, some organized, others less so, who are defining for themselves the kind of knowledge they need in the ever changing circumstances of their social conditions.[43] This should have been also the case during Popular Education's first summer; that it was not perceived as much, however, can perhaps be blamed on the cultural, political and educational preconceptions of the middle classes, which seemed to have been too predominant at that time.

Fundamentalists and Realists : it may be that due to an economistic interpretation of Marxian Political Thought (the proletariat as the only revolutionary class), that a considerable number of socially-concerned educators have developed a certain shame and even hatred towards their original class background. Fundamentally they ascribe to the new organic agent such high moral, political and professional standards that neither middle class elements nor any of the popular classes are capable of reaching them.[44] The assumption is that once the process of emancipation is initiated it will produce organic intellectuals of the popular classes. The highly controversial discussion about the bourgeois intellectual being a traitor to his class, also

called "death of the bourgeois", in order to become a member of the subordinate classes would then loose much of its relevance.[45] The popular classes would be able to create their own leaders.

When elements of two different social strata meet, their collaboration for educational purposes cannot succeed, if one submits itself to the values, traditions and practices of the other. In recent times, Popular Education groups, I would call them the realists, with a certain experience in field work (autonomous trade-unions, popular pressure groups and parties) have attempted a collaboration with the middle class elements in a much more easy going way. The groups look at the concrete contributions intellectuals can share in, i.e., furthering the reflexive and organizational power of projects and organizations and help in the systematization of the work.[46] This can be the beginning of a deeper involvement with the popular classes but does not necessarily signify it. Democratic control procedures should, in addition, perform the job of assuring a shared responsibility for determining content and method decisions. In this way, the members of both classes will be able to work out a coalition that reflects the political, social and cultural inclinations of the two. The adjective "organic" would then loose its somewhat static class connotation and refer to the fidelity and dedication to a societal project and to the necessary intellectual and manual, academical and grass-root practice required. What is going on in Brazil after the end of authoritarian rule apparently offers evidence of a shift in

this direction.

Behind fundamentalists' principles and realists' tactics emerge what can be considered the essentials of Popular Education. Do they constitute the cornerstones of a new pedagogy ?

VI. A New Pedagogy?

What's new in Popular Education ?

Generally speaking, neither unscrupulous R e a l p o - l i t i k nor dogmatic fundamentalism seems to dominate the Popular Education scene. Rather, there exists a syncretizing tendency which combines the essential aspects of both.

- Middle class intellectuals and those with bourgeois backgrounds who dedicate their work to the Education of the Subordinates need no longer fear stigmatization even if they maintain certain class mannerisms. Elements of various social groups work together, not without conflict and heated discussions, but with a similar goal : fewer privileges for the dominating minority and less misery for the majority of the Brazilian people.

- Mechanisms of popular participation and determination are being devised in order to control the asymmetry of pedagogical and political interactions among the various social groups involved. Nondirectiveness remains an important objective; however, it is one to be accomplished

during the educational process itself and not yet present at its very beginning.

- The need for high moral and ethical standards within the teaching profession is implicitly recognized. The teacher, monitor or accessory should advise and counsel as long as necessary but allow the students to have a voice in determining the course of the educational process as soon as possible.

- Popular Education gives a high value to the "school of life" and the culture of the people. Both have educational importance not only as a starting point for highly differentiated curricula but also as a grounding which underlies the whole educational enterprise. Ways of doing things familiar to the popular classes are taken into consideration. This would include organizational forms which they have developed, topics which are of central concern, and manners of approaching problems. It follows then that Popular Culture does not mean only arts and entertainment, but any symbolic or concrete expression of the world-view of the dominated.

- Education is established as an art. And subsequently the inventive educator who does not work in his job clinging to previously established content structures is much sought after. The ideal educator should be open to discovery and be willing to construct the program together with the student (problem-posing education). And even when Popular Educators come up with a method or a system that has been a success in a certain context, they do not conceive of it as a magical

formula. Such outputs have to be produced again in other environments.[47]

- Considering the previous points, possible allies and funders should not be controversial anymore. The agencies that want to invest in education, whether they are state or privately run, nationally or internationally organized, can do so with Popular Education as long as they are willing to accept its essentials. There is evidence on both the national and international level which indicates that they will.[48]

- The same is true for the commonly made differentiation between formal and non-formal education. As seminar discussions and practical examples show, Popular Education can occur within the formal system (= Rio de Janeiro) and outside in non-formalized structures. The latter organizational forms fits better perhaps, but this ought not to be taken as a basis of exclusivity. The greater number of Brazilian Popular Educators comprehend their field as one of experimentation in times of open-mindedness on the official side. In an authoritarian ruled society, they are likely to consider their activities as truly educative whereas they dismiss the official schemes as mere training.

Yet some shortcoming of the new pedagogy should not be overlooked:

- Popular Educators developed their body of thought and practice in opposition to the so-called human capital concept of education. For this historical reason, their approach

tends to overemphasize consciousness-raising and participation patterns. Every type of curricula decision is meant to attend to leitmotivs aiming beyond existing societal and economic structures. Yet every society needs a trained labor force and educational institutions to guarantee it.

Of still greater importance is the fact that transformation is neither a linear process nor does it occur without setbacks. Students and teachers involved in Popular Education today are forced to sell their skills in the existing labor market. The view that Popular Educators developed towards these exigencies sometimes turned their enterprise into a restricted, if not sectarian, project. Consequently, this contributed to limiting their influence on the wide range of educational activities in the country. The participation of many Popular Educators in the educational reforms underway in Rio de Janeiro and other regional states will expose this kind of insularity.

- The primacy given to the popular culture and value system is another problem within the movement. Though the middle class intellectuals no longer have to deny their bourgeois and petty bourgeois backgrounds, there is only little evidence that the bourgeois culture and heritage has been given its appropriate place. But the exchange of knowledge and "school" experience happens anyhow. There are bourgeois and popular ingredients in the educational outcome of Popular Education. Yet the pros and cons of each of these elements are not discussed without ideological biases.

educational value of the school of life and dialogical procedures inside and outside the classroom has fallen short in considering psychological aspects of the teaching-learning process. Thus Popular Educators do not sufficiently take into account the cognitive possibilities of the people as a result of political, philosophical, and anthropological presuppositions. The problem, thus, has been treated only lightly by the Movement. It needs fuller investigation.

- In general, I see a lack of formative and conclusive evaluation of the educative results. What is happening in the 'classrooms' of Popular Education is, to a large extent, unknown. The description of intentions and goals together with didactical suggestions often substitute for the analysis of performance. Ex-post evaluations trying to reconstruct the original enterprise exist but cannot be relied on too heavily because of the great time differences involved. Much of this negligence is caused by the often hostile political environment, lack of money and qualified personnel that Popular Educators still have to deal with. The awareness of these shortcomings seems to have grown during the last years, years of political democratization and change. There is a certain amount of concern about the waste of strength, good-will, and time by the repetition of faults and the non-eradication of improper practices.[49]

Popular Education in Brazil has come a long way. Its high and low points have been an index of the variations of Brazilian society and politics. Today, its second summer has

given the activists once again the opportunity to spread their influence even into the official systems. Future analyses will be necessary to specify the pros and cons of its educational and political outcomes.

Notes

Work on this paper was supported by the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) in Bonn/West Germany. I am grateful to Gilbert M. Gilman for help at different stages of the article.

1
Roett, 1972, p.116.

2
Cf. the reprimands issued in which he disapproves sharply of Theology of Liberation and warns against any literacy campaign "that tends to conscientize the pupils ..." In: Riding(1985). See also note 14

3
This is true especially for the educational field. For sociology see e.g. Albuquerque (1977), for the area of political economy recently Montega (1984).

4
The political aspect of this lack is underestimated in Adelman (1981).

5
For this procedure I am indebted to the methodological considerations of Gadamer (1965) without necessarily taking for granted his philosophy of history and his claims to the universal value of the hermeneutic method. For a comprehensive introduction to hermeneutics in English, see Bleicher (1982, especially pp 70 - 77).

6
Beisiegel, 1984, p.64.

7
Brandao (1984, pp.177 - 227) introduces this term in order to indicate the societal status of the populational strata involved.

8
In the following I borrow heavily from the analyses of Bezerra (1978), Wanderley (1984), and Alves (1984). The specialists among the readers will identify rapidly the traces that Dependency Theory left on these authors. The theory today is not explicitly cited anymore at a time when it had become commonplace in intellectual and academic circles and one of its most famous precursors and backers had become leader of the governmental coalition bloc in Brazil's

Congress, F.H. Cardoso.

9
Fletcher (1983) presented a comprehensive study about the Movement based on his doctoral thesis at Stanford. A more 'official' evaluation presents Alemeida (1984).

10
Skidmore (1967) provides an overview.

11
Besides Alves (1984) I recommend also Fleischer (1985).

12
The argument is sustained by Wanderley (1984, p.468).

13
A field-work account of the theory and practice with the Theology of Liberation in Brazil can be found in Mainwaring (1984, pp.203-255). Cf. also publications of Brazilian Theologians of Liberation : C. Boff (1980) and Friar Betto (1981). Recently Fernandes (1985) gave a short overview of the Basic Ecclesiastic Communities with an instructive first footnote: "The names of all the people and places included in this article have been changed".

14
See "Condemnation of 'Liberation' Doctrine" and of one of its "Backers" Leonardo Boff in : The New York Times, March 21, 1985, pp. A1 and B18. Cf. also note 2.

15
Cowen/McLean (1984) provide a proper overview. Brandao/Baeta/Rocha (1983) discuss recent research on dropouts and wastage in general.

16
The differentiation is similar to that used in West-German politics for the defenders and opponents of O s t p o l i - t i k. Fractions of the new G r u e n e Party have adopted the expressions in recent times to label disagreement on central issues of ecological policies.

17
Cf. my 1978 evaluation of Paulo Freire activities in Brazil before 1964, p.115.

18
Very illustrative about the history of the term, Paiva (1984, p.17).

19
Pinto, 1984, p.103/4.

20

The fundamentalistic approach is defended e.g., by the group NOVA in Rio de Janeiro. Cf. the publications of its members Garcia (1979 and 1982) and Bezerra (1982). Cf. Mainwaring (1984) for similar arguments of some Theologians of Liberation.

21
Paiva, 1984, p.55.

22
Paiva, 1984, p.55.

23
Beisiegel dedicates his scholarly work to proving this. For example (1974) and (1982).

24
Ribero (1984 and 1985) gives his own account of the experiments.

25
See e.g., Paiva (1984, Oct.21) who criticizes the populist features of the reforms.

26
Cf. Freire (1970, p.17/18) and more recently (1984, pp. 87/86).

27
Freire, 1967.

28
The primer was called "Textbook for Adults" (Livro de Leituras para Adultos), elaborated by Josina de Godoy and Norma Coelho in 1962. For further information, see my "Theorie und Praxis Paulo Freires in Brasilien" (1978, pp.65-68).

29
As a historical and currently accepted (?) grounding for this belief, see Maciel (1963), reprinted in Favero (1983).

30
Freire, 1970, especially pp.114-117.

31
Freire's oscilation between nondirective and directive conceptions is discussed in Paiva 1978 and 1980. Cf. also my hypothesis of 1983, p.6.

32
de Kadt 1970, pp.263, 267, 268.

33

34

Paiva (1980, pp.233-241) remembering the failure of Popular Education movements outside of Brazil because of this aspect.

34
Cf. the peculiar non-debate between the group NOVA and Paiva documented in Paiva (1984, pp.227-266).

35
Terms borrowed from Gramsci, the Italian Communist Party Leader. They are broadly adapted to Brazil within the Popular Education literature. In the following I do not follow the often confusing vicissitudes of that discussion but go back directly to the writings of Gramsci. He conceives the traditional intellectuals, literary or scientific, as a group in the interstices of society with a certain interclass aura about it but derived ultimately from past and present class relations. The organic ones constitute the thinking and organizing element of a particular fundamental social class (Gramsci, 1971, pp.5-23).

36
Simon, 1982, p.82.

37
Simon (1982, p.82) suggests that term to differentiate between high and low level functions of the intellectual's job.

38
For detailed analyses of the personnel involved in Popular Education : See
- for the Movimento de Educacao de Base (1967 - today):
  Bezerra (1978, pp.6-10),
  de Kadt (1970, pp.275-284) and Wanderley (1984, pp.371-409)
- for experiments with the Paulo Freire System (1959-1964):
  Gerhardt (1983 and 1978) and Paiva (1980 and 1978),
- for the campaign "De Pe no chao tamben se aprende a ler" in Natal/RN (1961-1964) : Goes, M. (1980) and Germano, J.W. (1982).

39
Wanderley, 1984, p.475; Paiva (1980) and my (1978).

40
The "generative words"of the Paulo Freire System.

41
Wanderley, 1984, p.473.

42
It should be interesting to investigate the militants of the new Brazilian Worker Party (PT) under this aspect. The same is true for the participants in the "Peasant Leagues", of great importance in the Brazilian Northeast before 1964; cf.

Paiva (Aug. 1984).

43
Alves, 1984, pp.225-265

44
Wanderley, 1984, p.475 : "The agent should use an adequate language and other means of communication which enables him to have a vivid relationship with the people. He should do this without lowering the level to the most backward but with giving value to the existing knowledge even upgrading it. He should work with the people without taking advantage of them. He should be willing to help them, to educate them and to assume even simple tasks. He should get rid of certain (bourgeois ?, H.P.G.) manners and ways of acting. He should behave naturally without vanity, showing himself as he really is, not attempting false identifications. He should be in love with his work, stimulating the creativity and the wits of the people." Consequently the author hesitates to attribute even to the most outstanding middle class agents of the "Movimento de Educacao de Base" the term organic intellectual of the popular classes. Mainwaring (1984, p.209-210) cites some examples within the scope of the CEBs who happened to have come very close to the standards set by Wanderley, but only in exchange for non- or even anti-intellectualism.

45
Cf. e.g. the entire issue no. 3 of "Cadernos do CEDES", organized by Dias. See also Freire (1979, pp.64-66).

46
In this way Paiva (1984, p.56) resumes the practice of various Popular Education groups especially when the elaboration of didactical materials is concerned. She mentions : URPLAN, CEPIS, IDAC, SEDUC. Alves (1984, pp.226-288) draws the attention to trade unions, popular pressure groups and parties.

47
Cf. various statements of Paulo Freire in this sense, e.g., Freire (1970, p.43).

48
Paiva (1984, pp.44-50) cites IICA and UNICEF. Roett (1970, pp.99-113) names USAID.

49
The UNESCO-MOBRAL sponsored "Latin-American Seminar about the Evaluation of Adult Education Programs," (Rio de Janeiro/Brazil, set 22-30, 1983) was one expression of this concern. Cf. the publication about the proceedings of the Seminar in Lovisolo (1984). See also Adelman (1981) and his account of evaluation schemes for "consciousness - raising education.

VIII. Glossary and Abbreviations

CEB	Communidades Eclesiais de Base. Ecclesiastical Base Communities (grass-root organization of the Brazilian Catholic Church)
CEDI	Centro Eucumenico de Documentacao e Informacao, Rio de Janeiro/RJ/Brazil (Eucumenical Center for Documentation and Information)
CEPIS	Centro de Educacao Popular do Instituto Sedes Sapientiae, Sao Paulo/SP/Brazil (Popular Education Center of the Sedes Sapientiae Institute)
Centros Intergados de Educacao Popular	Comprehensive Centers of Popular Education (within the Cariocan experiment a Center offers educational services for all age groups)
IDAC	Instituto de Acao Cultural (Institute for Cultural Action). Founded 1969 in Genebra by a group of exiled Brazilians, among them Paulo Freire
IICA	Instituto Interamericano de Cooperacao Agricola
MCP	Movimento de Cultura Popular (Popular Culture Movement) organized by the State of Pernambuco, Northeast/Brazil before 1964
MEB	Movimento de Educacao de Base (Basic Education Movement, sponsored by the Catholic Church and the Federal Government)
MOBRAL	Movimento Brasileiro de Alfabetizacao (Federal Government sponsored Brazilian Literacy Movement), founded 1967
Povo	People or Folk (also : popular classes ; term to denominate the underprivileged of the Brazilian society, urban and rural poor, unemployed, working class)

PT	Partido dos Trabalhadores (Worker's Party) recently founded party.
SEC/Recife	Servico de Extensao Cultural (Cultural Extension Service at the Federal University of Pernambuco/ Recife before 1964 ; Director : Paulo Freire. From 1960 on the Service was in charge of the experiments with the Freire system); extinguished : 1964.
SENAC	Servico Nacional de Aprendizagem do Comercio (National Commercial Training Service).
SENAI	Servico Nacional de Aprendizagem da Industria (National Industrial Training Service).
URPLAN	Instituto de Planejamento Rural e Urbano (Institute of the Catholic University of Sao Paulo).
SEDUC	Popular Education Service of the Diocese de Guarabira/Paraiba/Brazil
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Table 1

Brazil - National Census : Illiterates

(15 years and older)

1940	56.2%	15 million
1950	50.5%	15 million
1960	39.3%	16 million
1970	33.0%	18 million
1980	25.9%	19 million

Sources : Ribeiro (1984, p.13 and Willadino (1985, p.14)

Table 2

Brazil - Enrollment 1970 - 1980

(Pupils 10 years of age and older)

1970			
Without schooling	one year	two years	Total
24.0 million	5.1	6.9	32.0 million

1980			
Without schooling	one year	two years	Total
24.2 million	4.8	7.3	36.3 million

Sources : Ribeiro (1984, p.14) Percentages are given in Willadino (1985, pp. 22-24).

Table 3

Brazil - Rate of Attrition in Primary School

First Grade	Second Grade	Third Grade	Fourth Grade
1948:1.000	1949:391	1950:273	1951:161
1958:1.000	1959:429	1960:317	1961:207
1968:1.000	1969:456	1970:368	1971:307

Sources : Ribeiro (1984, p.15). The absolute numbers are given in Ministerio de Educacao e Cultura (1983, p.20).

Table 4

Brazil - Federal Spending on Education

as a Percentage of the Budget

1962	11.2%
1970	7.3%
1978	4.1%
1980	5.3%
1983	5.9%

Source : Ribeiro (1984, p.15).

Table 4

Brazil - Federal Spending on Education

as a Percentage of the Budget

1962	11.2%
1970	7.3%
1978	4.1%
1980	5.3%
1983	5.9%

Source : Ribeiro (1984, p.15).

X. Bibliography

Adelman, A.H. Evaluation Perspectives in Consciousness - Raising Education. Comparative Education Review 25 (February 1981):93 - 101.

Albuquerque, J.A.G. (ed.) Classes Medias e Politica no Brasil, Rio de Janeiro/RJ/Brazil : Paz e Terra, 1977.

Almeida, T.W. de A Historia e Situacao Atual de Avaliacao no MOBRAL, in Lovisolo 1984, pp.73-85.

Alves, M.H.M., Estado e Oposicao no Brasil (1964-1984), Petropolis/RJ/Brazil : Vozes, 2nd ed., 1984.

Beisiegel, C.R. Ensino Publico e Educacao Popular, in Paiva 1984, pp.61-84.

----------. Politica e Educacao Popular, Sao Paulo/SP/Brasil : Atica, 1982.

----------. Estado e Educacao Popular, Sao Paulo/SP/Brazil : Pioneira, 1974.

Bennet C. and others (eds.), Comparative Studies in Adult Education : An Anthology. Syracuse/N.Y. : Syracuse University Publications in Continuing Education, 1975.

Betto, Friar, O que e Comunidade Eclesial de Base, Sao Paulo/SP/Brazil : Ed. Brasiliense, 1981.

Bezerra, A. As atividades em Educacao Popular, CEI - Suplemento - No. 22, Rio de Janeiro/RJ/Brazil : Ed. Tempo e Presenca, Oct. 1978, pp. 2-22.

----------. Conversando com os Agentes, Cadernos de Educacao Popular 3, Petropolis/RJ/Brazil : Vozes, s.a., pp.9-32

Bleicher, J. The Hermeneutic Imagination, London: Routledge, 1982.

Boff, C. Como Trabalhar com o Povo, Petropolis/RJ/Brazil : Vozes, 1984.

Boff, L. Teologia a escuta do povo, Revista Eclecsiastica Brasileira, 40, June 1980, Petropolis/RJ/Brazil.

Brandao, C.R. Da Educacao Fundamental ao Fundamental da Educacao, Cadernos do CEDES, Vol. 1, no.1 : 5-34, Sao Paulo/SP/Brazil : Vozes, 1980.

----------. Educacao Alternativa na Sociedade Autoritaria, in Paiva 1984, pp.171-226.

Brandao, Z.; Baeta, A.B. and Rocha, A.O.C.da. Evasao e Repetencia no Brazil : A Escola em Questao, Rio de Janeiro/RJ/Brazil : Achiame, 1983.

Cowen, R. and McLean, M. Brazil, in International Handbook of Educational System, Vol. III, New York/NY : J.Wiley, 1984.

de Kadt, E. Catholic Radicals in Brazil, New York/NY : Oxford University Press, 1970.

Dias, E.F. (ed.) Cadernos do CEDES, No.3, Sao Paulo/SP/Brazil : Cortez, s.a.

Favero, O. Referencias sobre Materiais Didaticos para a Educacao Popular, in Paiva 1984, pp.283-304.

----------. Cultura Popular, Educacao Popular, Rio de Janeiro/RJ/Brazil : Graal, 1983.

Fernandes, L.B. Basic Ecclesiastic Communities in Brazil. Harvard Educatinonal Review 55 (February 1985): pp 73 - 82.

Fleischer, D. Brazil at the Crossroads : The Elections of 1982 and 1985, mimeographed paper prepared for the Conference on "Recent Electoral Changes in the Americas", Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies, University of California at San Diego, Febr.21-22, 1985.

Fletcher, Ph. R. O MOBRAL e a Alfabetizacao : A Promessa, a Experiencia e Alguma Evidencia dos seus Resultados, paper presented at "Seminario Latino-Americano de Avaliacao de Programas de Educacao de Adultos, Rio de Janeiro/RJ/Brazil, set 22-30, 1983.

Freire, P. and Guimaraes, S. Sobre Educacao, Vol. 2 (Dialogos), Rio de Janeiro/RJ/Brazil : Paz e Terra, 1984.

Freire, P. Entrevista a Liane Muhlenberg, Encontros com a Civilizacao Brasileira Dec. 1979, Rio de Janeiro/RJ/Brazil : Civilizacao Brasileira.

----------. Conversacion con Paulo Freire, Risk, Vol.6, No.1 : 7-19, Geneva/Switzerland. Reprint in : Novoa, 1978, pp.37-49.

----------. Pedagogy of the Oppressed, New York/NY : Herder and Herder, 1970.

----------. Educacao como Pratica da Liberdade, Rio de Janeiro/RJ/Brazil : Paz e Terra, 1967.

Gadamer, H.G. Wahrheit und Methode, Tubingen: Mohr, 1965; translated into English as "Truth and Method", London: Sheed and Ward,1972.

Garcia, P.B. Saber Popular/Educacao Popular in : Cadernos de Educacao Popular, No. 3 : 33-62, Petropolis/RJ/Brazil : Vozes, 1982.

----------. Texto Comentario : Cultura do Povo e Educacao Popular, in Valle/Queiroz, 1977, pp.56/57.

Gerhardt,H.P. Angicos/RN - 1962/3 - A Primeira Experiencia com o "Sistema Paulo Freire", Educacao e Sociedade, 5 (May 1983) : 5-34, Sao Paulo/SP/Brazil : Cortez.

----------. Zur Theorie und Praxis Paulo Freires in Brasilien, Frankfurt/M/West Germany : Ed. Gerhardt, 1978.

Germano, J.W. Lendo e Aprendendo : A campanha de Pe no Chao, Sao Paulo/SP/Brazil : Cortez, 1982.

Goes, M. de De Pe no Chao Tambem se Aprende a Ler (1961-1964) : Uma Escola Democratica, Rio de Janeiro/RJ/Brazil : Civilizacao Brasileira, 1980.

Gramsci, A. Selections from the Prison Notebook (Hoare, Q. and Smith, G.N. eds.), London : Lawrence and Wishart, 1971 (Original work published in Italian, 1947).

Godoy, J.M.L. and Coelho, N.P.C. Livro de Leitura para Adultos, Recife/PE/Brazil : MCP, 1962.

Haussman, F. and Haar, J. Education in Brazil, Hamden/CT :Archon, 1978.

Kidd, J.R. Comparative Adult Education, The First Decade, in Bennet 1975, pp.5-24.

Lovisolo, H.R. Avaliacao em Educacao de Adultos : Temas e Discussoes, Rio de Janeiro/RJ/Brazil : MOBRAL, 1984.

Maciel, J. A Fundamentacao Teorica do Sistema Paulo Freire. Estudos Universitarios 4, (Abr/Jun 1963) : 25-59, Recife/PE/Brazil.

Mainwaring, S. Igreja Catolica, Educacao do Povo e Politica in Paiva 1984, pp.203-255.

Mantega, G. A Economia Politica Brasileira, Petropolis/RJ/Brazil : Vozes, 1984.

Ministerio de Educacao e Cultura. O Desafio Educational, Brazil 1970-1980, Brazil 1980-2000, Brasilia/DF/Brazil : MEC, 1983.

Simon, R. Gramsci's Political Thought. London : Lawrence and Wishart, 1982.

Skidmore, Th. E. Politics in Brazil, 1930-1964. An Experiment in Democracy, New York/NY : Oxford University Press, 1967.

Valle, E. and Queiroz, J.J. (ed.). A Cultura do Povo, Sao Paulo/SP/Brazil : EDUC/Cortez, 1979.

Wanderley, L.E.W. Educar para Transformar, Petropolis/RJ/Brazil : Vozes, 1984.

Willadino, G. Atlas da Educacao no Brazil, Rio de Janeiro/RJ/Brazil : Ministerio da Educacao e Cultura, 1985.